



# THE AMERICAN

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### THE AMERICAN.

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#### CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.

Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.

Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.

Opposition to Trusts.

Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

#### NOTES OF THE WEEK.

THE memorable fifty-fifth Congress has passed into history; it died amidst universal expressions of good fellowship, enthusiastic cheers for a common flag, impartial cheers for its leaders, the singing of patriotic songs. Of course we here refer to the scenes in the House, for the Senate never dies. The life of that latter body is continuous. Every two years it sloughs off as it were one-third of its body, but that third is replenished before the time comes for the sloughing off of the next third. So its

life is continuous. Further the Senate keeps its organization, its standing committees are never dissolved. But when the House adjourns on the March 4th, after its short session, everything dies with it, all its committees die. Every new House has to create a new organization, select its Speaker and through him its committees. Of course between the long and short session this organization stands but between the close of the short session of Congress and the assembling of the new Congress, generally nine months thereafter, there is no House organization and during such period the House can officially do no work, do no work through committees, for committees it has none.

The Senate committees on the contrary are often authorized to sit during this period and often accomplish much work with the stamp of officiality upon it. Thus during the present period between the adjournment of the Fifty-fifth Congress *sine die* and the assembling of the new, the Senate Committee on Finance is authorized to sit, especially with a view to examining into our financial relations, tariff and other with the Hawaiian islands. But when members of the House desire to further the work of Congress by formulating plans during this interim between the expiration of an old Congress and the assembling and organization of a new they are obliged to act in a private not official capacity, work under resolution of party caucus, not of Congress. And so it is that the Republicans, resolved to prepare some plan of currency legislation to push forward in the next Congress and with a view to getting early action by that body, have fallen back upon the party caucus. With this view a party caucus was called just before the adjournment of Congress and a committee of leading Republicans then picked out to work under authority of the caucus and formulate some currency legislation to the end that a program may be cut and dried and ready for presentation to the new Congress just so soon as it assembles. Judging from the membership of this caucus committee we should say that it will report in favor of legislation providing that greenbacks or Treasury notes redeemed in gold shall not be paid out of the Treasury under any conditions, save in exchange for gold, and thus in effect be converted into gold certificates, and further report in favor of amending the national bank act so as to authorize the issuing of notes to the banks up to the par value of the bonds they may deposit with the Treasurer of the United States as security for circulation. In short we expect this committee will go just as far as the President has specifically urged Congress to go and no further. A more comprehensive plan, a plan providing for a general remodelling of our banking system and the issue of bank notes upon the general assets of the banks, without any specific security, is scarcely to be looked for.

WE have spoken of the general expressions of good fellowship that marked the dying of the Fifty-fifth Congress. Partisan bitterness did not seem to rankle. Even Speaker Reed came in for laudation at the hands of the Democrats, and he was accorded an ovation by the Republican members even though he was instrumental in blocking much legislation during the last

session of Congress and legislation specifically urged by the President and bearing the party stamp, such as the Nicaragua Canal bill and the Pacific Cable bill. There is no doubt that but for the determined opposition of Mr. Reed these measures—one authorizing the building of the Nicaragua Canal and the other the building of an Hawaiian cable, both as Government works—would have been passed. Yet, to all appearances, the Republicans of the House bore no grudge against the Speaker on this score. They gave him an ovation of a kind not at all in harmony with the reports that great opposition to Mr. Reed was growing in Republican ranks, such as would not unlikely lead to his turning down by the Republicans of the Fifty-sixth Congress and the choice of some other leader for Speaker holding views more in harmony with those of the Administration.

NOT FOR half a century has a Congress died with such little display of partisan feeling. It has been the boast of many that the Spanish War obliterated all sectional lines. Looking down on the House on Saturday last one would have judged that party lines had also been much dimmed. And yet all this display of good fellowship seems strangely out of accord with actual conditions in the country. Never was there less good fellowship between employer and employed; never were the toiling masses more effectually denied fellowship; never were class lines, class distinctions more sharply drawn. With the formation of trusts and great industrial corporations the cords of sympathy between employer and employed have been stretched until they have been snapped, until the capitalist is looked upon by the laborer as a heartless oppressor, the laborer looked upon by the capitalist as if a mere unfeeling machine of flesh and blood.

Never in the history of our nation was the doctrine of the equality of man so brazenly denied as now, never was the possession of wealth so openly put forward as a mark of superior intelligence and so far advanced as a claim to the right to rule. But now men blandly assert that those possessed of wealth, never mind how gained, are superior to their fellow-mortals; that the possession of wealth is a mark of fitness to rule. So would they establish an oligarchy of wealth on one side and the toiling masses laboring at the bidding of that oligarchy on the other. Further, they look forward to a condition when all the lands, all the tools of production shall be the property of that oligarchy and hence a condition, a period, when the toiling masses can only labor when such oligarchy says they may, only labor on such conditions as such oligarchy may dictate, and hence a condition when the toiling masses, abjectly at the mercy of such oligarchy, will be obliged, as so many slaves, to labor for the enrichment of their task-masters. To this condition are we drifting. Our railroads in the hands of speculative cliques and scattering special privileges to the favored few, granting freight rebates in a way to destroy honest competition and build monopoly, force this drift. Our banks favoring these speculative cliques and encouraging the formation of trusts, lending themselves to the furthering of stock-watering schemes and the unloading of watered securities upon the public, our National Government putting the burden of taxation on the backs of the poor and releasing the rich from contributions to the support of government commensurate to their means, further this drift. And so are class distinctions being built up, the insolence of wealth and the fawning of poverty taking the place of that feeling of good-fellowship born of a sense of equality and upon which democratic Government must rest for its stability.

Yet it is true that though there is this growing want of good fellowship between employer and employed there is a growing feeling of good fellowship between the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties. And what does this mean? That Democratic leaders as Republican leaders side with the oligarchy, fawn at the feet of this oligarchy rather than serve the people. It means that Democratic and Republican parties alike can be de-

pended upon to uphold freight discriminations, uphold monopoly, uphold a system of taxation that puts the burdens on the poor. It means that both alike can be depended upon to protect the moneyed cliques robbing the investing public through stock watering operations and exploiting the toiling masses through the building of monopolies calculated to crush down wages and raise the prices of those things labor must buy; it means that both old parties side with this oligarchy not the toiling masses, and so siding a feeling of good fellowship is readily established between the leaders of Republican and Democratic parties, for they both serve the same cause: that of oligarchy.

WITH the passing of the Fifty-fifth Congress many leaders of national repute retire from the Congressional arena. And these losses fall most heavily, indeed almost entirely upon the Democratic party which, considering the fact that the Republicans were the heaviest losers of Congressional seats in the last election, is not a little curious. But while the Republicans lost many more House seats than they gained they made very marked gains of Senatorial seats. Further, the losses of Congressional seats that the Democrats suffered were mainly in the west where for several years they had gained successes through fusion with the Populist party, a fusion policy which was nothing more than a sacrificing of party principles and aims for place and a policy that the true Populists refused to follow last year with results disastrous to the Democratic fusion candidates. And the gains the Democrats made were largely in the East, especially in New York, where the Republicans had succeeded for several years, with the result that the successful Democratic candidates are largely new men to national politics. They further distinctively belong to that wing of the party truest and openest in support of the moneyed oligarchy. And it so happens that of the seats captured by the Democrats in the East no one was filled by a Republican of any great repute while several of the seats taken by the Republicans in the West were filled by men who had made a name for themselves. Thus Jerry Simpson of Kansas who was much ridiculed when he first came to Congress as the "sockless statesman of Medicine Lodge" but won for himself the respect if not the esteem of members on both sides of the House, and Mr. J. Hamilton Lewis one of the wits of the House, eccentric in many ways, but one of the readiest debaters and most capable of leaders on the Democratic side of the House, both retire from Washington with the Fifty-fifth Congress.

BUT the Democratic party has suffered much more heavily in House leaders from voluntary retirement. During the life of the Fifty-fifth Congress, McMillan of Tennessee and Sayers of Texas both retired to become governors of their respective states, and Dockery of Missouri, ranking Democratic member of the Appropriations Committee of the House, retires with this Congress, not having stood for re-election. And in these three men the Democrats lose their chief financial experts. Also they lost another leader in General Wheeler though there is some indication that the general will surrender his military commission and take his seat in the next Congress to which he was duly elected. But the Democratic leaders of national repute have been reduced to just two, Bailey of Texas who, chosen leader of the Democratic party in the last Congress, led with much ill success, quite failed to command a united following and declares he will not essay the task in the next Congress, and Richardson of Tennessee. Yet it is not at all certain that the mantle of leadership will fall upon Mr. Richardson's shoulders. Mr. Bailey opposes, Congressman Bankhead of Alabama, quite unknown to fame, is being groomed for the honor and then the Tammany cohorts of Mr. Croker and the gold democracy are to be reckoned with.

THUS have the Democrats lost many leaders, but in the death of Mr. Dingley the Republicans suffered a party loss



greater than the Democratic loss in all the leaders we have named combined. Mr. Payne, of New York, who steps into his shoes, as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, comes far from filling them. This Mr. Payne combats the estimate of Mr. Dockery that there will be a deficit for the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1900, of \$50,000,000, declaring, among other things, that our army during that year will probably not exceed 60,000. And if our army be no larger than this it is very possible there will be no deficit, for the difference in the cost of maintaining an army of 100,000 and 60,000 men, and largely for foreign service, is about \$40,000,000.

But what prospect is there of the army being reduced to such size? We are at this very time about to increase our force in the Philippines to 38,000 men. Indeed, troops are now under orders for the Philippines in numbers sufficient to bring up our army to this force. And with 38,000 men in the Philippines this would leave but 22,000 men for other service. And to garrison our home posts, guard against Indian outbreaks, provide our new sea coast defences with garrisons sufficient in number to properly care for the ordinance, will, it is estimated, require at the very least 35,000 men, and then there are the Hawaiian islands and Puerto Rico to garrison and Cuba to keep pacified. Now, of course, we might largely withdraw our troops from Cuba, and we doubt not with good results, but who contemplates the withdrawal of our troops from Cuba before June 30, 1900? Some hope for such withdrawal, some Republicans, as Senator Foraker, of Ohio, urge it, but none expect it, while some, as Senator Sewell, of New Jersey, gloatingly, and Senator White, of California, regretfully, look forward to the time when our troops will be engaged in thrashing the Cubans, as inevitable. Indeed, some of our imperialists, who, not content with Puerto Rico and the Philippines, with their peck of trouble want Cuba too, seem resolved to do everything in their power to goad the Cubans into attacking our troops, and so precipitating a condition of general hostilities, which they are sure would end in the annexation of the island.

Again, some may think that we will not long have need for a force of 38,000 men in the Philippines, that very soon after our force has been increased to such number and General Otis enabled to deal some crushing blows to the insurgents, a good part of such force can safely be brought home. Spain, it is argued, did not keep nearly so large a force in the Philippines, but Spain held but a very small part of those islands in effective subjection, and we propose to make our rule effective in all. And the Philippine islands are of vast extent. Again, we may be over optimistic in harboring expectations of effectually crushing Aguinaldo and his army in a few short weeks and with a few well delivered decisive blows. Perhaps he will avoid such blows, refuse to accept a challenge to decisive battle, though at present it must be said that the Filipinos are sufficiently confident in themselves as not to be adverse to accepting or even inviting battle, for, indeed, they are besieging Manila and pressing our lines. Again, some even harbor the expectation that Aguinaldo will make a change of front, surrender, realizing his fight to be hopeless, and throw himself upon our mercy. But is he likely to do this when a sentiment prevails among our imperialists, and, as given vent in the New York *Herald*, such as this: "When our troops get hold of Aguinaldo they will do a little business with him in which his own head will play an important part." We should think he would resist to the death.

WHEN the Senate meets again many familiar faces will be missing. Mr. Gorman, most capable of Democratic leaders, a firm party man, personally clean and without reproach, a not unlikely candidate of the Democratic party for the Presidency in 1900, should the machine of the party pass into the control of the moneyed wing, as we are inclined to believe it will, will be absent. Senator Turpie, of Indiana, scholar of the Senate,

Mills, of Texas, whose name is associated with a free-trade tariff that was passed by the House a dozen years ago, but killed in the Senate, Senators White, of California, and Faulkner, of West Virginia, both strong in their declarations of party fealty, the latter chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in 1896, yet accused of playing the traitor to Mr. Bryan during that campaign, four of the gold Democratic Senators, Gray, of Delaware; Mitchell, of Wisconsin; Murphy, of New York; Smith, of New Jersey, and the Bryan fusionist, Senator Allen, of Nebraska, have failed of re-election, Republicans having been chosen in the places of all save Gray, of Delaware, and White, of California, in which states, the Republicans being unable to agree among themselves, deadlocks continue.

FROM the Philippines comes the report of a bargaining between Spanish and Filipinos of a kind that one would suppose General Otis would not tolerate. Aguinaldo holds some six or seven thousand Spanish prisoners and Spain is naturally desirous of securing their release. Under the treaty of Paris we were to use our influence with Aguinaldo, backed up with the mailed hand if necessary, to secure the release of these prisoners. But Spanish General Rios, who is nominally our prisoner, having surrendered Manila to us, appears to have come to the not unnatural conclusion that if the release of the Spanish prisoners was to be left dependent upon the exercise of our influence with Aguinaldo, which stands about zero, such release would be somewhat tardy. So he sets out to effect their release by ransoming them. To this end he offers \$2,000,000; Aguinaldo demands \$7,000,000 and so the negotiation is hung up. But this is not the point. The point lies in this. Here are the Spanish, and presumably with the consent if not approval of General Otis, offering to supply the Filipinos with gold with which to buy arms and cartridges to shoot our soldiers, for with gold they can readily buy arms and little chance is there that our cruisers can intercept the landing.

ITALY is the latest power to take a hand at despoiling China of her territory, presumably with the backing of France, Germany and Russia, for Britain looks on with displeasure, especially as Italy seizes upon a port that lies in what Britain looks upon as her special sphere and her part of the spoils should the Continental Powers resolve on forcing a partition of China. Meanwhile our Government looks on with much concern, but with the resolution, as reported by a correspondent, that "we won't join in robbing China." We wish we could be sure of it, for our first steps on the career of imperialism but tempt us on to take further and greater steps, for our present steps have not, it is seen, opened of themselves those great markets for our goods and sources of profit that we are told follow in the wake of imperialism. So we are told we must take part in robbing China along with others, and if China is to be partitioned we must demand our province. The further we carry this Imperialistic policy, this policy of robbing other peoples, the worse will be the disappointments that we will suffer, for no sources of profit can be opened in this way that will not cost more to open than they will be worth.

#### A Wonderful Success.

The Buffalo National Acetylene Gas Company of Buffalo, N. Y., are placing on the market on 30 days' trial, a machine for the manufacture of acetylene gas which is bound to take the place of all other illuminants. This machine is the latest improved, and is recommended by all standard insurance companies. We light churches, stores, factories, residences and country homes; also put in plants for lighting towns. We want good representatives.—*Adv.*

## RECORD OF THE FIFTY-FIFTH CONGRESS.

MANY blame the Fifty-fifth Congress for that which it has failed to do; we blame it for what it has done. Chosen at the end of a bitter campaign fought on the currency issue, and in which the tariff question was quite overshadowed, many thought that such Congress would at once take under consideration the monetary question with a view to remodelling our currency system upon the gold basis, which, in the estimation of the banking cliques who had supplied a goodly part of the sinews of the Republican campaign, meant a general retirement of the national currency, greenbacks and Treasury notes and a substitution of bank currency, for, it was said, the banks are alone in position to so regulate the exchanges as to protect our gold reserves. Now it must be remembered that we were having no end of trouble with our gold reserves and that the national government was being put to great expense to keep our gold reserves intact and maintain gold payments. Indeed we had been propping up the gold standard by a series of bond issues. Without the support of such props the gold standard would have collapsed.

Such was the situation. All this was vividly before men's minds when the Fifty-fifth Congress was chosen. There was unquestionably a great attraction for our gold in Europe—an attraction so strong that it flowed there in great quantities, causing untold anxieties to those who thought that everything would go to rack and ruin in America should gold payments be suspended. The question that welled up in many minds was how to put a stop to this attraction. The wise men in the financial centers answered that the banks had the power, that the government had no power to protect its gold reserve, that the safety of the gold standard demanded that the issue and regulation of our currency be handed over to the banks and the responsibility for the maintenance of the gold standard placed upon them. Men said that the flow of gold from our shores to Europe was due to redundancy of our currency. Said redundancy kept prices too high in America, though, indeed, our producers were inclined to think they were much too low. But too high were prices to enable us to keep our gold. So said the wise men and further added that the government was powerless to make our redundant currency any the less so and so put down prices. Indeed, even if the government had the power to contract and expand the currency it would not know when to use it, not having its hand on the pulse of trade and commerce. Only the banks were in position to feel such pulse, therefore only the banks were fitted to regulate the volume of our currency and such regulation ought to be given to them. Thus argued the banking and speculative cliques. If the banks had the control over the currency and were responsible for the maintenance of gold payments, it was said, they would have the power to put a stop to the attraction of our gold to Europe and they would have to exercise it. For under such conditions gold would be withdrawn from their vaults and they could not afford to have their gold reserves seriously depleted, so they would have to put a stop to it. And how? By calling in their loans, raising the rate of interest, contracting the currency. Thus would men borrowing money be forced to realize on their property. Thus would prices be forced down, discouraging the shipping of goods to the United States where prices were thus forced down, and leading foreigners to purchase more liberally of our goods. This the banks would have to continue forcing until the balance of trade was turned so much in our favor as to stop the flow of our gold to Europe or even attract gold to our shores.

## Republican Position on the Currency Question.

Such was the theory of the pronounced gold men, such the ground upon which they based their contention for the retirement of our national currency and the substitution of bank notes therefor. Moreover they contended that the Republican party was in

duty bound to put this plan in force, for the campaign of 1896 was fought on the currency issue, the Republican party was pledged to the preservation of the gold standard and the only way to firmly establish our currency upon the gold basis was after the above manner. After this manner did the gold men, especially the Democratic allies of the Republicans argue. They were insistent, they reproached the Republicans with failure to carry out their pledges, they cannot forgive the Fifty-fifth Congress for its failure to take up this matter. But in all fairness were not these pledges rather implied than actual, for the position of the Republican party during the campaign of 1896 and on the currency question was distinctively a negative one.

"We will not open the mints to free silver coinage, unless it be by international agreement which we know to be impossible but which harmless qualifying words we may add to please our western friends." This was the prime pledge of the Republican party. It was not to reframe our currency system by cancelling the greenbacks and substituting national bank notes but to keep the mints closed to free silver coinage. True, the party was pledged to preserve the gold standard and the only way to honestly keep this pledge, men said, was to reframe our currency system in this way for this was the way and the only way to firmly establish the gold standard. And the force of this reasoning we admit. Republicans are now coming generally to recognize it, as Secretary Gage has recognized it from the beginning, and the next Congress is expected to act upon this theory.

But this reasoning did not impress itself upon the leading Republican members of the Fifty-fifth Congress or else they did not judge it politic to accept it. At any rate they did not act upon this currency theory. Then too President McKinley was most lukewarm and indirect in pressing it. Consequently the whole matter was shunned as the easiest way of getting rid of a troublesome question. Besides, trade conditions have been such as to make possible the temporary banishing of the subject. Three years of bumper crops in America and three years of on the whole deficient crops in the rest of the world have opened the way to a vast expansion of our export trade and a building up of trade balances in our favor so great as not only to enable us to pay all our current debts but attract gold to our shores. So of late we have had no trouble with our currency system. But, complains the gold Democratic and kindred press, we are quite improvident. We are letting slip opportunities to put our house in order; storm will come again to find us unprepared. The sun shines and there is no need to mend our leaky roof; the rain falls, we have need of a sound roof, but only at great exposure can the leaks be patched and therefore unpatched they must go. And so have the phials of wrath been poured out upon the Fifty-fifth Congress.

Thus in the matter of reforming our currency system the Fifty-fifth Congress showed no constructive ability or perhaps we should say no inclination to undertake the job. Be it here said moreover that Republicans in that Congress were far from agreeing at first that any reforming of our currency system was required or desirable. Leading Republicans, and among them Mr. Dingley, had declared that the root of our currency troubles lay in deficiency of revenues. Upon this same key had Mr. McKinley played during the campaign, it was on this key that one of the chief arraignments of Mr. Cleveland's Administration was strung. Of the greenbacks as an endless chain drawing gold out of the Treasury Mr. Cleveland had spoken. Republicans rejoined that the Treasury deficits set the endless chain in motion, that its working depended upon Treasury deficiencies. The Treasury borrows gold said Mr. Cleveland, redeems greenbacks and at once pays out such greenbacks to again become available for presentation for redemption in gold. So is there an endless chain. There is redemption without payment. But, said the Republican leaders, increase revenues until the deficit in monthly receipts is made up and the chain will be broken. For then there would be nothing for which to pay out the greenbacks redeemed



with gold and such greenbacks or their equivalent in some other kind of currency would lie piled up in the Treasury after redemption, be withdrawn from circulation. If this had been the situation, said these Republican leaders, the bond issues that Mr. Cleveland made would have served to permanently contract the currency, cured its redundancy and stopped the demand for gold for export. And thus would one bond issue perhaps have served to do what four failed to do because of the Treasury deficits.

So was it argued that after all the currency question was a revenue question, and so the Republicans of the Fifty-fifth Congress resolved to treat it. As the months have passed a disposition to treat it otherwise, treat it by direction and not indirection, retire the greenbacks from circulation not in the haphazard way of piling them up in the Treasury, a way which can give no assurance of the permanence of their retirement, but by cancelling and destroying them, has sprung up, and this disposition has grown into a determination. But we have to pick up the thread where the Fifty-fifth Congress took it up.

#### Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty.

Almost the first act of President McKinley was to call this Congress in special session to build higher the tariff, provide for meeting the Treasury deficits, and so solve the currency question by cutting the endless chain. In the middle of March, 1897, it met, and for four months struggled with the problem. It was the policy of the Republican leaders to hold down Congress during the special session to the consideration of this one subject. To this end the House, after sending up a tariff bill to the Senate, waited upon its oars in inaction, perfunctorily meeting every third day only to go through the form of adjourning. This was kept up for the better part of three months until the Senate had passed upon the bill. The Senate itself did not confine its scope to such narrow limits. One matter especially, and falling in its own particular sphere, concerned it. That was the Anglo-American arbitration treaty, child of Mr. Olney, adopted with a marked warmth of affection by the McKinley Administration, and putting our fortunes in the hands of King Oscar of Sweden. But as more than one-third of the Senators did not take kindly to having all disputes arising between Great Britain and the United States passed upon by one who, however upright in intention, would by his very training judge things through monarchical spectacles, through glasses colored so as to prejudice our contentions in his eyes, the treaty failed of adoption. This, too, though no effort was spared to save it. Indeed, in desperation, it was reduced to a mere shadow, a mere name, the meat all taken out, in the hope that a sentimental victory, if not material, might be won. But all was in vain.

The Senate also gave some time to the discussion of Cuban affairs, passing a resolution recognizing the insurgents as belligerents, of which resolution however, the House, or rather the leaders of the House, refused to take any notice. Aside from passing the tariff bill all the House did was to pass a few belated appropriation bills that the preceding Congress had failed to act upon.

#### The Dingley Tariff as a Protector of Monopoly.

But as to the tariff. For six weeks the Senate Committee on Finance considered it, for six weeks it was before the Senate. The aims, at least the avowed aims of its framers and champions were two. First to increase the revenues so as to meet expenditures, second to extend protection so as to better secure to American producers our home markets. But the tariff passed was far from what a protective tariff ought to be. It was a tariff protective of monopoly not aimed to encourage domestic competition. No trust was forgotten. Over the sugar schedule the fight perhaps was hottest. The outcome was to increase the differential duty on refined sugar, that is the duty in excess of the duty imposed

on the raw sugar entering into the production of the refined and so increase the protection extended to the Sugar Trust. And in such case such protective duty but enables the monopoly to put up the price for its product and so lay tribute on the general public. It serves no other purpose. But the Dingley tariff is full of such duties, so full that it may fairly be said to be a monopoly not a protective tariff.

A protective tariff ought to conserve the interests of consumers as well as producers. If it does not do this it is a failure. The theory of a true protective tariff is that by encouraging the development of our natural resources and stimulating competition it will bring down not lift prices. Further, it is calculated to secure to the producer of raw materials, of food stuffs and textiles better prices for their products by offering them nearer markets and so cutting down the expense of marketing. But the Dingley tariff is not built on this theory. It is not built to encourage competition for it extends its protection to monopoly. And this extension is not accidental. Particular care was taken that it should be extended. When an amendment was offered in the Senate providing for the suspension of the protective duty on any product upon proof that the production or distribution of such product was monopolized by a trust or combine, the facts to be determined by judicial procedure brought at the instance of any one concerned before a United States court, such amendment was voted down. Thus the Republicans of the Senate went on record as desirous of building a monopoly tariff while affairs were so dexterously managed in the House that the presentation of such an amendment and the making of such straight record was avoided.

And since this tariff has been on the statute books the forming of trusts and combines has been going on at an ever accelerating speed. "While all the industries are making great progress," says the *New York Tribune*, "the industry of stock manufacture easily surpasses all others. Men talk of production reaching a million tons of pig iron worth \$13,000,000 in a month, or the manufacture of 50,000,000 pounds of wool monthly into cloth worth \$15,000,000 or more, but what is this compared with the creation of \$1,106,300,000 of industrial stocks and bonds in two months?" For this is the record for the first two months of 1899. And in the whole year of 1898 the capital of the industrial trusts formed was but \$916,000,000 and this was a larger creation than the year before.

Thus does the creation of trusts increase at an ever accelerating rate and has since the passing of the Dingley tariff. But to lay the forming of such trusts at the door of that tariff would not be fair. The true foundation of the prosperity of such trusts is not tariff discrimination at the customs houses but discrimination in their favor in the matter of railroad rate tariffs, and the great temptation to their forming at the present time is that in the present state of the stock markets it offers a way for the disposal of industrial plants at more than value. For be it understood that the creation of trusts with an aggregate capital of \$1,100,000,000 in two months does not mean that property of such value has been turned over to such trusts, much less that any such sum of money has been paid into the trust treasuries. It probably means that properties of perhaps half such value have been handed over to the trusts, that in exchange therefor the original holders have received securities, two dollars of securities for one dollar's worth of property and if they can sell such securities, and the market in its present speculative fever offers the opportunity, they have sold their property for double value.

Such then are the great stimulants to the creation of trusts and they have nothing to do with the Dingley tariff. But if the tariff had been amended so that the forming of trusts would be followed by a removal of all tariff protection from the products thereof such tariff would have constituted a hinderance to their forming. But it was as a monopoly tariff that it was built and as a monopoly tariff it has not failed.

**Dingley Tariff as a Revenue Measure.**

And now a word as to the revenue side of the Dingley tariff. For the calendar year 1895 there was a deficit in the national revenues of \$29,000,000, for the year 1896 of \$49,000,000. These were the years immediately preceeding the enactment of the Dingley tariff, such were the deficits that confronted the Fifty-fifth Congress. That Congress set about providing for such deficit by almost doubling the duty on sugar—distinctively a poor man's tax, a tax that rests much more heavily upon the poor man in proportion to his income than upon the rich for it is a tax on consumption, on consumption of one of the necessities of life and hence in effect a tax on the right to live. The tax is covered in an increased cost of sugar. Then, rather as protective than revenue measures, hides and wool were transferred from the free to the dutiable list and the tariff rates on manufactured goods generally raised. And these increased tariff rates imposed for purposes of extending protection rather than raising revenue now serve to considerably increase customs receipts for the general rise in prices, for which the greed of the trusts is in some measure responsible, has led to increased importations. Of course for some months following the enactment of the Dingley tariff no true measure could be taken of its revenue yielding qualities for much sugar and wool and other produce on which tariff rates were raised was rushed into the country in anticipation of such raising and consequently importations in the months immediately following were abnormally low, abnormally low as were the importations in the immediately preceding months abnormally large.

But we are now in position to get a fairly reliable view. And from a revenue standpoint we must pronounce the Dingley tariff a success, though we confess we did not think it would be. The truth is that the Dingley tariff raised the average rate of duty on the aggregate of importations, this inclusive of free as well as dutiable goods, by nearly 50 per cent. It was not thought at the time of enactment that the increase would be more than 25 per cent., it was calculated that an average duty on importations of 25 per cent. of value would be collected, and on importations of \$800,000,000 it was figured out this would yield a customs revenue of \$200,000,000. And as we much doubted that importations would reach this figure, as optimistic Republicans calculated upon it in figuring out probable revenues under the Dingley tariff, we did not believe such tariff would yield anything like \$200,000,000 of revenue. But this is just what it bids fair to do, and though importations promise to aggregate a value for the year of no more than \$700,000,000.

Under the Wilson-Gorman law tariff revenues were collected in the calendar year 1895 to an amount of 20.6 per cent. of the aggregate value of imports, in 1896 the percentage was 21.2 per cent. But under the Dingley law this percentage rose in 1898 to 28.8 per cent., and for the last month of that year, which makes a more reliable basis upon which to build, being further removed from the effect of anticipatory imports, to 30.4 per cent. It is true that this percentage includes the duty collected on tea imports under the second Dingley tariff act, or the war revenue bill. This tax is ten cents a pound, and during the month of December 6,840,550 pounds of tea were imported. Therefore it would appear that while the customs revenues in December were \$16,764,324, the revenues collected under the original Dingley act were \$16,080,269, which sum is equal to 29.2 per cent. of the aggregate value of imports for the month. But assuming that this percentage should not fractionally increase in the months to come, and it is more than likely to, it is very evident that if the imports for the present year aggregate the value of \$700,000,000, and they are now running at about such a rate, the total customs revenues for the year, and aside from the duty on tea, will exceed \$200,000,000. Further the internal revenue taxes on the ante-bellum basis could be counted upon to yield \$160,000,000, and miscellaneous resources at least \$20,-

000,000 more. So here is a grand total of \$380,000,000, which just about equals the sum that would have been necessary to meet the ordinary expenditures of the Government had there been no war. In other words, it may be fairly claimed for the Dingley tariff that it would have wiped out the Treasury deficits if peace had not been broken.

The war, of course, brought greatly increased expenditures and has left greatly increased expenditures in its train. The authorizing of such expenditures and the making of provision to meet them constituted the major portion of the work of Congress during its second session. Needless to say appropriations were made liberally, almost lavishly. No one could tell just what contingencies would arise and no one was able to even approximate what the expenditures would be in the creation of an army. Consequently great lump sums were appropriated to be used at the discretion of the President, and, as it turned out, much more money was put in his hands than he had need of. So at the expiration of the periods for which such appropriations were made available a good part of the money appropriated was covered back into the Treasury again to be appropriated. Thus considerable of the money appropriated by the Fifty-fifth Congress was appropriated twice. But of this more anon.

**Taking War.**

When Congress met in regular session in December, 1897, war was anticipated by few. The President and the Republican leaders in Congress were opposed to the taking of any effective steps towards securing the independence of Cuba. And though sympathy for Cubans was strong on the Republican side of the House, as well as the Democratic, there was no indication of any breaking away from party lines on the part of the Republicans. As the days passed and the horrors being perpetrated in Cuba were spread before the American people with greater accuracy and detail the demand that Congress take some action to put a stop to what amounted to a diabolical plan for exterminating the people of Cuba and secure the freedom of Cuba gathered force. Still, the President held back. He seemed to harbor some plan by which, with the full consent and approval of Spain, he might intervene in Cuba, put a stop to the hostilities, disarm the insurgents, put down the rebellion, and set up some sort of an autonomous government under Spanish sovereignty. Then came the blowing up of the Maine. The American people maintained much self control, there was no indiscriminate demand for the wreaking of vengeance, if we should go to war it would be on higher grounds than that, be for the liberation of a people, be for the upliftment of downtrodden humanity. But the disaster to the Maine turned all eyes upon Cuba, it turned a searchlight on conditions there, and with the full knowledge of such conditions came the insistent demand that Spain should be obliged to surrender a sovereignty she had so abused. Thus did the sinking of the Maine make war inevitable, let us hope made Cuba free that over the graves of the heroes of the Maine may be reared an imperishable monument, more imperishable than sculptured granite: "They died that Cuba might be free." Then Congress voted a defense fund of fifty millions. But still the President held back, hoped that something short of Cuban independence might suffice. But Congress knew nothing short of this would suffice, the whole country demanded this and nothing less. And under this pressure party lines no longer held, Congress broke away from the President, it refused to follow him in any equivocal course. He asked for authority to intervene in Cuba, use the forces of the United States to pacify the island and establish a stable government. Did this indicate an intent of the President to strike a middle course, to lay out the form of an autonomous government, of an agreement for the suspension of hostilities and then, if need be, use the forces of the United States to require Spanish and Cubans to



accept such government? Congress was in no humor to blindly follow the President, if the President would not declare explicitly what he meant, what he proposed to do, it would declare what the country proposed he should do. And so Congress explicitly declared that the United States should intervene in Cuba to put an end to Spanish rule and make Cuba a free and independent state.

#### How the Problem of Raising War-funds was Solved.

Everybody knew the passing of such resolution meant war. It was meant to mean war, and was promptly accepted as such. But Congress duly followed it with a formal declaration. War thus precipitated Congress lost no time in authorizing the President to enlist an army under provisions of acts previously passed, to build the military machine to carry out the will of Congress and in appropriating money for its support. This done, Congress turned its attention to the problem of raising money to meet the expenditures it authorized. And then Congress could no longer work in harmony. Republicans were bent on raising the needed funds by selling bonds and by raising and imposing taxes of the kind that rest more heavily upon the poor than the rich. Democrats, on the other hand, opposed the issue of bonds, they favored an issue of greenbacks, the coinage of the seigniorage on the silver in the Treasury and the imposition of such taxes as would fall on men in proportion to their means rather than their needs. Thus they brought forward a proposition to tax the gross receipts of corporations, which would have been a crude, an indirect income tax. Yet these Democrats fell away from their high declarations. They, not the Republicans, are responsible for the tea tax, the most inequitable tax of the war revenue bill. Further, the greenbacks they would have issued are the kind redeemable in coin, the kind an increase of which would lead to such presentations for redemption as to lead to the sale of bonds to get the coin to redeem them. So the Democrats would have put off the issue of bonds to pay for the war but by one step, that is those of them who did not vote directly for bonds.

With Democratic help the Republicans finally had their way. Bonds to the amount of \$400,000,000 and certificates of indebtedness without any specific limit, but never an amount in excess of \$100,000,000 to be outstanding at any one time were authorized. Under the authority to issue bonds \$200,000,000 were sold, and the war having ceased the power to issue the remaining \$200,000,000 has by the terms of the authorizing act and by that cessation lapsed. The power to issue certificates of indebtedness and which amounted to authority to anticipate the collection of revenues to an amount of \$100,000,000 was not availed of, but under the terms of the war act does not lapse, is continuous. Aside from this Congress provided for the raising by additional taxation of about \$120,000,000 a year. To raise this the beer taxes were doubled, the tobacco taxes increased by 50 per cent., a tax placed on proprietary articles of all kinds, patent medicines, etc., and a customs duty of ten cents a pound put upon tea. These taxes, which are largely per capita taxes, being taxes on articles of general consumption, aggregate about three-fourths of the war taxes. The balance of the war taxes, stamp taxes on deeds and stocks and sundry documents and an inheritance tax are of a juster kind, falling upon men in accordance with their means.

#### Hawaiian Annexation and National Bankruptcy Law.

During the same session of Congress the Hawaiian annexation treaty was presented to the Senate, but its friends were unable to muster the necessary two-thirds vote to carry it through. Thereupon it was presented in new shape, in legislative garb, in the form of a joint resolution annexing the Hawaiian islands, and for the carrying of which the support of a bare majority in both the Houses was all that was needful. Thus is the word of the Constitution ignored when its keeping is inconvenient,

thus was Hawaii annexed. The passage of a must-needed national bankruptcy law framed on the humane idea that it is to the interest of the community to help an unfortunate debtor upon his feet and not wise to keep him from rising in the world by denying him any protection in the enjoyment of property he may accumulate also marks this session of Congress.

#### The Cost of Imperialism.

Such is the record of the Fifty-fifth Congress made during its first two sessions. The record it made in its last and third, the ratification of the peace treaty, the making of provision for an increase of the army to 100,000 men, the passage of the navy personnel bill, the passing of the different appropriation bills, to say nothing of the record of its negative results, of its failures, is too recent to need recalling. It remains but to make further note of one part of the record of this somewhat remarkable but mediocre Congress—remarkable in having inaugurated, quite innocently it may be, a new departure in national policy leading us on to what we fear will be costly not remunerative fields and from which withdrawal, after we awaken from our day dreams to a realization of the sad reality, as in time we must, a realization that we have been extending our dominion, building an empire in pursuit of a false god, will be most difficult. And these costly fields that before our enamoured eyes appear to glisten with gold, with opportunities of profit—it is of their cost that we desire to make further note.

Before the war \$450,000,000 covered our total annual expenditures in our national capacity—expenditures of the postal service inclusive. Now we have to prepare to make provision for expenditures of \$700,000,000. This is the first cost of our new fields that to our eyes, enamoured of conquest, seem to glisten with gold but that we cannot occupy save at the cost of national degradation. Every bit of wealth we may wring from an enslaved people, from a people to whom we say ye are not fit to govern yourselves, ye know not how to labor so as to produce most wealth and therefore it is our duty to teach ye how to labor and our right to take the added fruits of your toil, will be wealth bought at the cost of liberty. And such wealth, wealth accumulated by despoiling alien peoples, wealth centered in a few hands and tending to create a governing oligarchy we cannot afford to gain.

But it is of the national expenditures incurred in taking these distant fields that we would make note. The Fifty-fifth Congress at its second session, that is its first regular session, appropriated \$893,000,000. This money was appropriated for use during the present fiscal year. Much was specifically appropriated to meet expenses during the first half of the year only and much so appropriated was not used. But with the expiration of the period such unexpended appropriations became unavailable. Before the moneys thereunder appropriated could be used they had to be appropriated anew. So though Congress at its second session appropriated \$893,000,000, it is not likely that total actual expenditures for the present fiscal year will exceed \$750,000,000. And for use in the next fiscal year this Congress at its last session appropriated \$673,000,000. But some of the appropriations made will not suffice to meet the expenditures that will be incurred under authority given by this Congress. To meet such excess of expenditures deficiency appropriation bills will have to be passed by the next Congress. Of course some of the appropriations made will not be all used but that our total national expenditures for the fiscal year beginning July 1st next will foot up to \$700,000,000 appears to be certain. Such may be considered the cost of government if we rest content with the present extension of our colonial empire. And if we reach out further, take a slice of China to help England take another piece and generally strut around with a chip on our shoulder inviting trouble, seeking the chance to despoil weaker peoples and entering into rivalry with stronger peoples for that poor privilege, a privilege that

many empires have fought for and won but in so doing sown the seeds of their own decay, dug their own graves, our expenditures will grow far beyond \$700,000,000 a year, grow far faster than our wealth.

#### THE HANNA-PAYNE SHIP SUBSIDY BILL.

FORTUNATELY the effort to tack the Hanna-Payne ship subsidy bill upon an appropriation bill came to naught, and so far as the last Congress is concerned that most ill judged and extravagant measure is dead. But as it is likely to crop up again in the next Congress a word in explanation of the bill may serve a useful purpose, for it is well that the people should understand the true scope of the measure. Its avowed purpose is to build up an American ocean marine for the carriage of our foreign trade by a system of bounties. The commissioner of Navigation declares it would cost the government in the way of subsidies only a few millions a year. And if the participation of an American merchant marine in our foreign carrying trade did not increase under the stimulus of such a bill it is very true that the yearly bounties required to be paid under the provisions of such act would come to only five or six million dollars a year. But if the measure did not fail in its purpose, if it gave the foreign carrying trade or eighty per cent. of it into the hands of an American merchant marine the outlay for subsidies under the bill would aggregate about \$30,000,000 a year on a basis of present trade and of course grow with such trade. Therefore if the bill accomplished the purposes of its framers, namely the regaining of the foreign carrying trade of the United States by an American built merchant marine, it would be a veritable deficit breeder. It is as such that Congressman Cannon vigorously protested against it declaring that Congress, when it comes to passing laws requiring such extraordinary expenditures, should at the same time impose such new taxes as would make provision for meeting the bills, paying the subsidies authorized. We speak here of the measure as pushed by its backers and without regard to the amendments of Senator Frye intended to limit its scope and the aggregate of subsidies to a maximum of \$9,000,000 a year.

The Hanna-Payne subsidy measure is so named from the fact that in the Senate it was introduced by Senator Hanna and in the House the identical measure introduced by Congressman Payne, who has taken Mr. Dingley's place as chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. We may here further remark that it does not carry out the policy for building up the American merchant marine approved by the Republican party in last national convention assembled. That convention pledged the Republican party to the support of the policy of discriminating tariff duties, the true policy for building up our merchant marine, a policy not new and untried but tried in the early years of the Republic with eminent success and that would put money in the National Treasury, not take it out and at the same time benefit our people by insuring them readier access to the markets of the countries lying to the south of us.

The Hanna-Payne bill contemplates the payment of subsidies to owners of American ships engaged in the foreign trade on a basis of tonnage, the rate of such subsidies being arranged on a sort of sliding scale, increasing with the size and speed of the ship and length of voyage. But to be explicit. Regardless of size or speed or character of ship engaged in the foreign trade, it is proposed to pay a subsidy of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per ton for every hundred nautical miles sailed on any voyage, either outward or homeward bound, for the first 1,500 miles of the voyage, and a subsidy of 1 cent per ton for every hundred miles in length of single voyage in excess of 1,500 miles. To make this clear, we may take an illustration, a ship of 1,000 tons on a voyage from New York to Liverpool, 3,010 miles: Such a ship would be entitled under the bill to a subsidy of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents a ton for every

hundred miles sailed up to 1,500, and 1 cent per ton on every hundred miles of the 1,510 additional. The subsidy for the first 1,500 miles sailed would then be 22.5 cents a ton, for the last 1,510 miles, 15.1 cents, or a total of 37.6 cents per ton; so that the ship of 1,000 tons would earn a subsidy of \$376 on each voyage. This is the basis upon which the proposed subsidy system is builded. This bounty applies to steam and sailing vessels alike.

But the subsidies it is proposed to give to steamships go much higher with size and speed. Upon steam vessels of over 1,500 tons and a speed of from 14 to 15 knots, it is purposed to pay a subsidy of 1 cent per ton per hundred miles sailed, in addition to the above subsidy; upon vessels showing a trial speed of from 15 to 16 knots 1.1 cents, and on vessels of over this tonnage and a speed of over 16 knots an extra subsidy of 1.2 cents. But this is not all. On vessels of larger tonnage and higher speed it is proposed to pay proportionately higher subsidies. Thus on vessels of 3,000 tons or more, and a speed of between 17 and 18 knots, the extra subsidy is 1.4 cents per ton per hundred miles sailed, and with each knot of higher speed the subsidy goes up two-tenths of a cent, so that on vessels of this class and over 19 knots, the extra subsidy contemplated is 1.8 cents. Finally, on ships of 8,000 tons or over, and a speed of 20 to 21 knots the extra subsidy is to be 2 cents, and if the speed be over 21 knots 2.3 cents per ton per hundred miles sailed, this of course in addition to the subsidy of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per ton per hundred miles of voyage up to 1,500 miles, and 1 cent per ton per hundred miles of voyage in excess of this length. Therefore a steamship of 10,000 tons and 21 knots would be paid as a subsidy, on a voyage from New York to Liverpool, 3,010 miles, first the basic subsidy,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cents per ton per hundred miles for 1,500 miles, \$2,250, and 1 cent per ton per one hundred miles for the balance of the distance, or \$1,510, a total basic subsidy of \$3,760. And second would be the size and speed subsidy of 2.3 cents per ton per hundred miles of voyage, or \$6,923. So the total subsidy on the single voyage would be \$10,683, and on the round voyage \$21,366.

Furthermore be it said that the proposed law authorizes the government to enter into contracts by which it would be bound to continue paying such subsidies for a period of twenty years. Such extensive subsidies as here proposed are paid nowhere in the world, not even by France, which country has studiously pursued a subsidy system much akin to the above. In France the subsidies allowed new vessels are about as high as the above, but they are arranged on a sliding scale based on the age of the ship, so that the bounties grow smaller as the ships grow older and out of date.

Now in estimating the actual outlay under such subsidies as proposed by the Hanna-Payne bill two things are to be kept in mind. On the one hand the average voyage of vessels in our foreign trade is somewhat longer than the voyage from New York to Liverpool and the subsidies on this account would be somewhat larger per voyage, and on the other hand we must remember that of course the greater part of ocean traffic is not done in any such high class ships as we last estimated upon, but in ships that would be given somewhat lower subsidies under the proposed scheme.

But the average result as figured out by Mr. Wm. M. Bates, an authority on the subject of our ocean marine, would be a subsidy of 82.62 cents per ton per average voyage, which he figures out at 3,756 miles. And as the gross tonnage of shipping annually entered and cleared from our ports in the foreign trade is close to 45,000,000 tons, of which, however, only about  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. is American, the amount of subsidy payments under the bill can be readily figured out. To start off with, and on a basis of the present proportion of American shipping in this foreign trade there would be a tonnage of about 6,000,000 to pay subsidies upon, which, at an average rate of over 82 cents a ton, would amount to about \$5,000,000. But it is contemplated that under the bill the pro-



portion of the foreign trade done in American bottoms would rise in the course of a few years from  $12\frac{1}{2}$  to 80 per cent., it was so large in the early years of the century, and then without allowing for any increase in the tonnage engaged in the foreign trade, subsidy requirements would be about \$30,000,000 a year. But as the tonnage engaged in such trade increases at the rate of about  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. a year the subsidy requirements would steadily grow. Thus it is that Mr. Bates figures out that the probable subsidy requirements under the Hanna-Payne bill would be ten years from now, and on the assumption that 80 per cent. of the trade would then be in American hands, which advocates of the bill claim, no less than \$50,347,932. And so long as the subsidies were continued this bill would go on increasing at the rate of  $6\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. a year, if the American marine thereafter but held its own in proportion of trade done and the ocean tonnage engaged in our foreign carrying trade continued increasing at the present rate.

The idea of paying such a continuous and increasing subvention out of the National Treasury for the building up of an American merchant marine is appalling. And here let it be remarked, that under the bill and by authority of Congress the government would virtually enter into a continuous contract with shipowners such as would obligate the paying of such subvention for year after year for a period of twenty years. We do not think tax-payers are ready to foot such a bill.

But if tax-payers are not ready to foot such a bill must we abandon the hope of rebuilding an American merchant marine such as will control our foreign carrying trade? We declare that there is no need, that there is a way in which to rebuild that marine without putting any burden on the National Treasury, without contracting any bill for subsidies which the tax-payers must foot. That way lies not in the paying of bounties, but through the imposing of discriminating duties upon goods imported in foreign bottoms. Early in the history of the Republic all goods imported in foreign bottoms paid a duty of 10 per cent. of value in addition to what other duties might be imposed and collected on goods imported in American bottoms. But if there is a timidity over the re-inauguration of this system in all its extent, the United States fearing to do when it is strong what it did with signal success when it was weak, suppose we make a beginning by imposing such a discriminating duty on all goods imported in foreign bottoms from countries of this hemisphere. The result would be that everything imported from South American countries or West Indies in foreign bottoms would be subject to a duty of 10 per cent. in addition to the tariff duties now imposed, if any. Consequently American vessels would be in great demand in the ports of South American countries and West Indian islands, for it would pay better to ship to United States ports in American than in foreign bottoms so long as the freight charges of the American vessels did not amount to more than 10 per cent. of the values of the cargoes in excess of the charges asked by other vessel-owners.

Now it may be said that American vessel owners would take full advantage of this preference, that our people would, as the result of this policy of discriminating duties, have to pay 10 per cent. more for South American produce than they now pay. Of course, this would amount to an indirect tax of the people for the benefit of the ship owners. But, as a matter of fact, the appearance of American vessels in this trade would lead the British-owned vessels to cut rates—and for this reason: Britain now sells to South America more than she buys, she buys from the United States more than she sells, while the United States buys three times as much from South America as they sell to South America. As a natural result of this there has sprung up a triangular foreign trade. More British vessels go out to South America loaded with British goods than can find direct return cargoes. But in the United States they can get cargoes for Britain and for such cargoes to the United States they must go.

In going for such cargoes they now take cargoes from South America to the United States and as they meet no driving competition they charge good rates for these latter cargoes. But clearly with the establishment of American lines having a preference in the trade owing to tariff discrimination there would come this driving competition and as the British bottoms would have to sail to the United States in ballast if they could not get cargoes it is obvious that in preference to losing such cargoes they would accept them almost at ballast rates. Consequently, though freights on American vessels would be higher than on British the very fact of the establishment of the American lines would make the freights on the British vessels lower.

Therefore the American people would not be taxed as much in the shape of enhanced prices as would at first sight appear and what they were taxed would be more than made good to them in a lowering of freight rates to South American countries and consequent broadening of our markets in those countries for both products of farm and factory. Goods we now sell to South American countries are largely shipped by way of England and because of the triangular trade afore spoken of. As a natural result our manufacturers are much handicapped in this trade for it costs them more to lay their goods down in South America than it costs British manufacturers. Evidently the establishment of direct lines of communication with South America would remove this handicap. Indeed it would result in a shifting of the handicap for it would be the profit in the return cargoes that would tempt Americans to establish steamship lines between South American ports and the United States. And as to bring these return cargoes would require more ships than to take to South America what our people now sell there, this for the reason that we buy three times what we sell, there would be more freight room on the outward voyages than freight to fill and as a consequence there would be that close competition that leads to low rates, indeed almost ballast rates, and at the same time the British vessels, not finding the second third of their voyage as profitable as heretofore, would, in order to make ends meet, have to charge higher freights on the other two legs of their triangular course. As a natural result American exports to South America would be encouraged while British were discouraged and after a while the triangular trade would cease, being replaced by a direct trade. What we have said of South America may be also largely paralleled in regard to the West Indies.

So we see that if we lost something in higher freight rates on inward cargoes, we would save on outward, and, at the same time, greatly encourage a trade infinitely more valuable than that which we are causing blood to be shed to open in the East. And, instead of building up the American merchant marine in a way to make a drain on the Treasury, we would be building it up in a way to increase the revenues, though, of course, the revenues derived from the discriminatory duties would diminish as our own marine grew and the proportion of goods brought to our shores in foreign bottoms decreased. With the discriminating duties restricted to goods imported in foreign vessels from countries of this hemisphere, the additional yield of revenue would at first be at the rate of about \$15,000,000 a year, but would rapidly diminish. If we applied the policy to all imports, we would at first swell our revenues by about \$50,000,000, there being last year \$530,000,000 worth of produce imported in foreign bottoms.

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HE that cannot obey cannot command.

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HE that takes a wife, takes care.

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#### Health for Ten Cents.

Cascarets make the bowels and kidneys act naturally, destroy microbes, cure headache, biliousness and constipation. All druggists.—*Adv.*

Written for THE AMERICAN

## A NATION'S CRIME.

"The rebels were mowed down like grass."—*Exclusive despatch, Manila, February 10*

WE mowed them down, like the summer grass,  
In jungle depths and the wild morass,  
On verdant plain, in the forest glade;  
Bold was the charge our warriors made  
In that isle of the Oriental sea,  
Profaning the name of liberty.

There, in the light of a peaceful morn,  
Fair as the day when the earth was born,  
Lay the sunny shores of that tropic isle,  
Whose hills on the happy valleys smile,  
While the winds that waved the forest plumes  
Borrowed the breath of the orchid blooms.

Around it wide swept the dimpled seas,  
Meeting the kiss of the spicy breeze,  
Their tenderest touch the shore caressed,  
Like a dreaming child its mother's breast;  
Murmuring soft as the arching skies  
Reflected lay in its azure eyes.

Her dusky children, the island o'er,  
Rejoiced that the Spaniard ruled no more,  
With rapture only the brave can know,  
Loosed from the clutch of a cruel foe,  
When they, like a heavenly vision, see  
A hope and promise of liberty.

Never had shone the radiant skies  
With such a halo of Paradise;  
Never had seemed their mother earth  
So beautiful since her natal birth.  
For faith was fervent and hope was high,  
God's freedom day was drawing nigh.

The father told to his listening band  
The tale of their loved and native land,  
And the warrior kissed his dusky bride  
In their humble home by the river side;  
The mother, blessing her stalwart son,  
Rejoiced that the reign of peace had come.

Fair in the light of that Saturday  
Lay the smiling shores of Manila Bay.  
But, alas! The Sabbath morn looked down  
Over bleeding plain and burning town.  
For our army guns and navy shell  
Joined in a fusillade hot as hell.

There in the trenches, stiff and cold,  
Where their empty shells the story told,  
Lay the van of that patriot band—  
Martyrs for freedom and native land,  
While forest fastness and fertile plain  
Drank the rich life blood of the slain

The women fled, with their mangled child,  
From the flaming hut to jungle wild,  
While famished babes found their only rest  
On a mother's cold and bleeding breast.  
Hundreds of women and children fell,  
Mowed by our warships' bursting shell.

We mowed them down like the meadow grass  
In jungle wild and the deep morass,  
And wailing winds swept the forest lone,  
Heavy with many a dying moan.  
While the living shuddered to know the end,  
Vainly seeking for home and friend.

But not alone, in that distant isle,  
Doth Sorrow her lonely watch beguile.  
In many a home waits an open door  
For their beloved who come no more  
Ah! many the hearts that ache to-day  
For loved ones lost at Manila Bay.

Here Liberty sits and, mourning, waits  
By Freedom's barred and bolted gates,  
And Truth lies humbled and Justice weeps  
O'er the grave where a nation's honor sleeps,  
While growing clouds in our country's sky  
Portendeth a retribution nigh.

Los Angeles, Cal., February 15.

—WINNIE BELL.

## TOM WATSON'S HISTORY OF FRANCE.

*The Story of France from the Earliest Times to the Consulate of Napoleon Bonaparte* By THOMAS E. WATSON, in two volumes. Vol. I to the end of the Reign of Louis XV. New York: The Macmillan Co. \$2.50.

Something more than a year ago there came to our desk an unpretentious little volume crudely gotten up, without even so much as a publisher's name on the title page, but of which we became quite enamoured in the reading, recognizing it as the nucleus of a work at once unique and great. It was the forerunner of the present volume, in which all the crudities are worn off, all the historical gaps and omissions filled in; in which some of the quaintness that amused has perhaps given way but to be replaced by the classic polish of a great publishing house, of which the work is so richly deserving, for classic it will surely become.

Many histories of France have been written, many in the English tongue, but none that can compare with this. A more brief, direct, yet readable history leaving a vivid impression upon the mind is scarcely imaginable. Carlyle's great history of the French Revolution was one to be read to gain a vivid picture of the scenes after one had familiarized oneself with the History of the Revolution as culled from "dry as dust" historians that Carlyle outshone, but did not supplant. But one who had never turned the pages of a French history would never feel at a loss in reading the brilliant chapters of this history of France. To know that history, grasp its outlines, its meanings, its lessons, one need not read other history than this. In itself it is complete, polished, a history *sans pareille*.

In brevity the work is a model, but to such brevity the thoroughness of the work is not sacrificed. No superfluous verbiage dulls the interest of the reader, no material point is overlooked in the great sequence of French history. Characteristic short paragraphs, terse and pointed sentences carrying a wealth of meaning and depth of philosophic thought, often most quaintly put, sometimes in touching pathos, sometimes in dryly humorous but ever captivating vein, make the work nothing short of brilliant. Even the chapters covering the period of the dark ages and chapters written but to keep up the chronological order and the sequence of the story make easy reading, and as we pass down through the centuries the strength of the work grows upon us, until, laying down the book with a lingering regret, we long impatiently for the publication of the second volume, treating of the greatest period of French history, the Revolution, and that we cannot help thinking will as much surpass the first volume as that period of French history surpasses all others in interest and instructiveness.

Some histories are written to satisfy a mere pedantic curiosity as to the happenings of the past, some as beacons throwing a light by which to guide our footsteps in the future. History written in the former way is a mere often times dry record of facts, the study of which is profitless; history written in the latter way is a science, the study of which must be of countless benefit to mankind struggling for a higher life. For our part we look upon history as an art, by the study of which we may learn to govern ourselves in a way to avoid the pitfalls that have been the undoing of great peoples, of firmly established governments, of progressive states in the past and thus avoiding uplift mankind. And it is so that Mr. Watson regards history, so in his own inimitable style that he has written the history of France.

In thorough sympathy with all efforts to uplift humanity as we are, to take the heel of oppression from off the neck of the downtrodden, to expose the baseless sophistries preserved by history and sanctified by age, upon which are reared class distinctions, by which are defended special privileges, and by which encroachments upon the inherent rights of man, rights to labor and enjoy the fruits thereof are justified, we are, by our very sympathies, strongly attracted towards Mr. Watson's work. Some who are not in such thorough sympathy with the emancipation of the many from the burdens put upon them in the interest of the few profiting from the enjoyment of preferences and special privileges



which are not theirs of right, but which, making might a law unto themselves, they have usurped; profiting from railroad discriminations, profiting from rearing trusts and sundry monopolies, profiting from a system of inequitable taxation that puts the burden of the state upon the poor for the profit of the rich, will doubtless read this book with quite other feelings. Some of Mr. Watson's keen thrusts at injustice may hurt some such, some such may not enjoy his cutting satire and the lessons that he draws. But they cannot but recognize the power of his pen and admit, grudgingly it may be, the force of his work. It is this that makes some of his critics over mad and somewhat intemperate in their criticisms. But the work is such as compels admiration be one a friend of downtrodden humanity and ready to help in the uplifting, or be one, perhaps only in the interest of employer, hostile to such upliftment. And such admiration, such recognition has the work commanded from all critics so far as we know—all but one, him of the *New York Sun*, most virile and fawning of sheets that disgrace the American press.

This may sound like intolerance of differences of opinion, like impatience of adverse criticism. But intolerant we confess we are of anyone who cannot see good and refuses to see force in a book such as this. It is not worth while to waste argument with such who are swayed not by reason, who are wedded fast to the rock of self interest, who answer argument by passion and can only be moved by a breaking of that rock to which they are so firmly attached.

Some of the sharp satire which Mr. Watson hurled at the divine right of kings in the former little volume is missing in the present, being judged, we doubt not, as pitched in too light a vain, and cut in too much roughness for such a polished work as the present. We confess that we miss it though we are not ready to say that its omission is not for the best. Besides, we have glimpses of the contempt in which he holds the doctrine of the divine right of kings, a doctrine sufferable when kings ruled "from the high plane of divine right to rule, as God would rule—justly, toilsomely, benevolently, as a steward in charge of a vast trust—" intolerable when the King "conceived himself to be the owner in full of millions of French acres, revenues, and people without accountability to God or man." But listen to this. The Spanish line of kings is about to die out, the rumblings preceding the war of the Spanish succession are ominously audible in all European courts:

"In September, 1665, Philip IV of Spain died, and was succeeded by his son, Charles II, a child four years old. He was too weak to stand alone, had neither teeth nor hair, and could not hold his head up. This puny representative of divine right was solemnly acknowledged as monarch of a realm which stretched all over the world. The foreign ambassadors ceremoniously visited his pining Majesty, and formally made their little speeches of congratulation to him, his nurse holding the King in his chair while this courtly farce was being acted.

"If the fetich worshippers of Darkest Africa, naked barbarians that they are, could witness some of our civilized customs and ceremonials, they would not doubt the brotherhood of man, for while our civilization takes on much varnish, we at heart remain faithful to the fetich worship of our heathen forefathers. We make unto ourselves idols, graven images, and Mumbo-Jumbo gods out of bright cloth and waving feathers, and before these hand-made gods we fall down upon our faces, humbly thanking them for allowing us to live."

As a general rule we are not at all attracted towards that style of reviewing which consists in making copious extracts from the book under review. To knife up an author's writings and then present the mutilated extracts as a sample of his style is often grossly unfair to him unless so much is copied, after the habit of some Sunday newspapers, as to amount to a bodily stealing of the product of his pen and brains, and in either case is too meanly contemptible to be encouraged. We therefore hesitate to invite the charge, but the brilliant passages in this work, some weighted with pathos, some with dry humor, some with keen bits of philosophy, all marked by the author's own unique and inimitable style tempt us beyond resistance.

We turn back the story to a period 1,300 years ago. An ignoble king of the Franks of the Merovingian dynasty, Clotaire by name, warring on a neighbor makes captive a young girl, a princess, whose beauty so attracts him that he resolves to make her his wife. So duly in course of time when time adds a few years to the age of this princess, Radegonda by name, Clotaire takes her for his wife, but savage as he is bears lightly his marriage vows, maltreats and abuses her until she flees, takes refuge in a convent, the sanctity of which even the ferocious Clotaire dares not violate, is consecrated a deaconess. It is then of life in this

convent that Mr. Watson paints a beautiful picture, summing up in these words:

"Such was life in this convent 1300 years ago. Here was religion without severity; peace without idleness; dignity without pride; seclusion without selfishness; affectionate companionship without sin.

"Think, then, of this little world, within the larger world; for this cloister is but one of many, and it is a vital portion of the social, political and religious fabric of the times.

"Within the convent all is serene; without all is storm and strife. Within there is peace and love, the charities and refined graces of life; without there is war and hate, cruel wrongs and rough barbarities of word, speech and deed.

"Clotaire, raging like a wild savage, rushes upon a rebellious son and burns him—he and his wife and children. Brunehilda intrigues and murders; Fredegonda poisons and stabs; Chilperic butchers and wastes; cities go up in flames; fields are trampled by the war horse; the dead lie piled in heaps where they fell; and ruffians hew and hack fellow ruffians from one end of France to the other.

"The great noisy world rolls by with all its struggles for honors, and wealth, and power; men slay and are slain, cheat and are cheated, crush and are crushed—in the mad race.

"Infinitely sweeter is the other picture—the simple joys, the quiet usefulness, the loving charity, the tender companionship, the bloodless hand which saves rather than kills.

"Thus in the age of grossness refinement did not die; in a reign of blood and rapine white peace won sinless triumphs. The work of the king perished; that of the queen endured. He built furiously and savagely on the sand; she gently and humanely on the rock. Of Clotaire's work naught remains; a brute of brutes, he went as the brutes go, and left no trace. Of the queen's work all remains as a lofty example—nothing died but the queen."

We now pass down to the reign of Louis the Handsome, son of Charlemagne:

"As curate of some country parish he would have been the ideal Christian leader, pure in heart, gentle in speech, holy in life, conciliatory, charitable and forgiving. As a king he was one of the most conspicuous failures who ever wore a crown.

"Before he had got the reins of government well in hand, he began to act the part of a reformer. The royal palace was infested with a number of concubines, a legacy of Charlemagne who sought the love of woman after the manner of David; which scandalized his pious son. Louis put these women out of the house; and, at the same time, gave his sisters great annoyance by expelling the lovers whom they had installed in the palace. If the reformer had paused there, all would have been well, but it is difficult for a genuine reformer to stop when he once gets in motion. There are so many things, social, religious and political, which the reformer fancies he could improve, that his self-imposed task grows upon him.

"Louis was no exception to the rule, and he soon had many reforms on foot. He punished wrong-doing in high places, destroyed a multitude of abuses, curbed the bishops and required the clergy to conform to the stern discipline of St. Benedict. In this manner the king made himself loved mildly by the people, and hated fiercely by the nobles and the bishops whom he had crossed.

In these last lines Mr. Watson writes with the touch of one writing from personal experience, writing his own feelings, fate as reformer in the picture frame of the old Frankish king. Seldom has a man been more loved or more abused for espousing the cause of the people, attempting to punish wrong doing in high places, an unpardonable sin, than this same Mr. Watson. But for his espousal of the people's cause he is mightily more than a little loved by a million of his fellow-citizens—he came as near being worshipped as mortal man can come. He who walks in advance of the columns of reform, holding aloft the banners and ever carrying them forward in advance of the following and irresistible army, is sure to become the target for the greatest abuse, the greatest villification from those he opposes and prone to receive little reward from the hands of his friends, ever being a little in the lead, but the greatest of rewards, the knowledge that he has helped pave the way for the upliftment of mankind is ever his. Sacrifices are demanded of those who would help their fellow-men, lighten their burdens, fight the oppressors of mankind, those who live as leeches on the toil of others, but let the sacrifices be cheerfully made. As Mr. Watson himself says in reference to the early religious and political persecutions of the fourteenth century:

"The true heroes of our race are not those whose names blazon the march of great thought and great principles as they burst into final success. They lie in unmarked graves beneath the accumulated oblivion of bygone ages. Their brains cradled the daring thought at a time when it was treason. Their burning lips proclaimed it when the gibbet, or the dungeon, or the stake was almost certain to be their doom.

"Unrewarded by the praises of hopeful adherents, persecuted malignantly by the powers they accused of tyranny, followed to execution by the derision of those deluded serfs of King and Church whom they wished to free, the lot of the early reformers was one that called for divinest motives and sublimest courage.

"That we enjoy any liberties which are worth the name are due, not alone to those whose names are amber-held in the poetry, the history and the songs of the world, but to the heroic efforts, the unstinted self sacrifice, the splendid devotion of the earlier martyrs who dreamed of the blessings we enjoy and died rather than be silent."

But knowledge and truth spreads faster to-day than five hundred years ago and so we may encourage ourselves with the hope that to espouse the cause of the people does not mean martyrdom, that he who offers to sacrifice wealth, comfort, life for the upliftment of mankind may reap the fruits of his own sacrifices on this same earth. A hundred years ago, and things move faster now than then, Voltaire lived to see such things.

"He was born revolutionary and innovator. He found the French mind terrorized, the French tongue mute; he found religion degraded to a superstition; he found the world of letters under the dominion of kings and priests.

"This state of things he fiercely assailed, and when he died he had lived to see a servile people emboldened sufficiently to rise up in spontaneous enthusiasm and crown him with flowers; had lived to see the terror pass away from the minds of men, and to hear free speech proclaiming at every street corner the doctrines of a new and better political faith."

Mr. Watson's chapters on chivalry, feudalism, the crusaders tempt us to linger, but we pass them by that we may take up the chapters on Joan of Arc, chapters well worthy, in their beautiful simplicity of language, in their fervidness, their pathos, their reproach, of that divinely pure girl. We stop not over the inspiration of that peasant girl, of how she inspired others, inspired an army with the spirit that brooks no defeat, that is unconquerable save in death. "Woe unto the enemy which such an army led in such a spirit, shall meet in battle!" says Mr. Watson. "What need is there to tell the dreary detail of war?" So victory lies not always with the heaviest battalions, a point of which we would have Mr. Watson make note in revising his work for future editions, for which there is sure to be demand.

But this girl with no power but that given by her own indomitable will overcomes all obstacles, saves Orleans, saves France from British conquest. "The king comes to meet her. He offers to confer nobility on her—as if God had left that to him." Rheims she takes from the British, the king is there crowned, her mission is fulfilled. But the king has further use for her, he calls on her to drive back further and further the British invaders, he gives not the support she deserves, he sees her betrayed, captured, and he abandons her to her fate, to be led away in captivity and chains to be tried as witch, idolatress and heretic and burned at the stake.

"For more than a year she lived, suffering every day.

"Brave? Ah, greatly and divinely brave, because it was never possible to wring from her lips one word of complaint against the graceless wretch she had enthroned, and who now dallied with lewd women, idling away the time in the luxuries of the wealth which she had brought him, and who yet never by word or letter or act tried to save her!

"Dead these five centuries are those two, the maid and the King; but even now one shudders to think that the same God made them both."

"Where were her friends? Was there no brave knight in all France to couch lance, uplift banner, and cry 'To the rescue!'

"Where was the King? Sipping wine amid painted women.

"Where were the people—the people whom she had loved and delivered?

"Alas! The people abused the nobles for betraying her; put the signs of public mourning up in the streets, and prayed laboriously for her in the churches. There was even a procession of barefooted priests at Tours, which went through the city imploring heaven for her deliverance.

"These extraordinary methods having been exhausted, the people rested from their labors.

"The heroine of France, she who had given deliverance to her people and a crown to her king, was left to be bought and sold like base merchandise, was left to be caged and chained like a wild beast, while there was in preparation for her the harshest torture and cruellest death any woman ever suffered."

And now we skip the final sad scenes, skip 25 years to find the name of Joan "rehabilitated," the verdict under which she was burned and her ashes caste into the Seine, quashed. And then says Mr. Watson:

"Joan's family feel gratified.

"The people feel gratified.

"The Church feels gratified.

"The king, especially, feels gratified.

"Joan, only, feels nothing. Joan is dead.

"Twenty-five years have passed away since the fires at Rouen burned out and died; since the ashes of the brave and tender girl were cast in the Seine, and were carried forth to sublime burial in the sad and solemn sea, where only the mourning waves could chant her dirge, the silent stars light her funeral, and the great God mark her grave."

"Joan of Arc is one of the Mystics—one of those strangely endowed and inspired people, who, with the slenderest human support, alter the course of the world's history.

"Like Mohammed, Peter the Hermit and Ignatius Loyola, there seemed to be nothing supernatural about her, save her intense concentration of purpose and the vivid imagination which made fancies appear realities.

"The world cannot comprehend such characters, nor resist them, nor forget them.

"Joan lives as truly to-day as when she laid flowers upon the altars, or when she led the wavering lines of battle back to victory.

"Possessing no relic of her, no painting, no full description, the minds of after generations have tried earnestly to realize the face and form of this country girl who overthrew the power of England.

"Poets have sung of her in immortal verse; painters have dreamed of her on imperishable canvas; sculptors, in the purity and strength of marble, have made her appear in the lovely shape she took in their own ideals.

"Splendid monuments commemorate her at Orleans and at Paris. Every year at Orleans a festival is held in her honour, as it has been, with few intervals, ever since her death.

"The French have loved many kings, warriors, statesmen, poets and philosophers, but it may be safely said that in those sacred national archives, where veneration and love and profound respect guard the priceless heritage of great names and glorious examples, no king, no chieftain, no statesman, poet or philosopher disputes the place held by the shepherd girl, who was to France what the shepherd boy was to Israel."

Was there ever more beautiful tribute to beautiful character?

We now pass down the line of history a hundred years to find ourselves in the midst of the Reformation. Here as ever Mr. Watson is incisively sharp in his pen sketches. They stand out startlingly bold, lay bare unsavory truths that some bigoted partisan not broad enough to face the truth or confess faults of churchmen and reformers in years gone by would prone hide in the oblivion of the past. But there is nothing in this book at which a good Christian, be he Catholic or Protestant can rightly take offence. For the very work breathes the essence of Christianity, of love, faith, charity, and beautifully simple are the references to the early Church, pure and incorruptible in all its pristine simplicity. But we quote two forcible passages from his chapter on the Reformation:

"At the time whereof we write, the religion of Jesus Christ had been almost wholly supplanted by paganism. The Catholic Church was Christian in name only. The saints represented the pagan gods. The 'Lives of the Saints' constituted the favorite literature of the times, and these chronicles were stuffed with childish fables, with contemptible lies. The Gospels were unused. Devotees prayed to saints and relied upon 'sacred relics.' Pious pilgrimages, out of which many scandals grew, took the place of Christian duty. Sins were paid off with money or service. Priests peddled pardons as freely as merchants sold needles and linen.

Luther, summoned at the instance of the Pope before the German Emperor, Charles V., goes fearlessly, "trusting partly to safe conduct, but more to the known temper of the German nobles."

"Retraction being demanded of him, he refused to retract. The pious monks having suggested to the emperor that Luther should meet the fate of Huss in spite of his safe conduct, the German nobles showed such readiness to draw weapons that the monkish proposition met no favor.

"Luther was let go his way, and the Reformation was thenceforth an assured fact. He lived, and he worked many years. He wrote many things he ought never to have written, held many beliefs that would now shock enlightened people, and loved the good things of life to an extent that was emphatically human. But after all is said, Luther remains one of the few master figures in the world's history. Judged by his work he was great; judged by his motive he was great. Like Mahommed, he enjoyed endless opportunities of enriching himself; like Mahommed, he died poor. He gave as freely as he received, and after his death his wife was reduced to beg her bread through the streets of Wittenberg."



As we turn the pages of this history we come across character sketches, remarkable in their incisiveness, that rank with the best that Carlyle ever did, and that sorely tempt us to make further and liberal citations. One of the most striking sketches is that of Philip II. of Spain, of whom he says: "Spain's ruin can be traced to Philip's reign; and historians, therefore, set him down as a failure—I do not. His object was to keep the French crown Catholic, and he did it; to check heresy, and he did it."

But from further pilfering from this great work we must restrain. His story of Louis XIII. and Richelieu, of the Grand Monarch, of Louis XV. and the growth of absolutism leading up irresistibly to the cataclysm of the French Revolution, and his powerfully impressionable and sympathetic sketches of the men who by their literary work paved the way to that overturning of an effeminate nobility steeped in luxury, idleness and moral turpitude by the outraged French people who had carried the burden so long, we must pass by, putting down the book with the remark that among histories it ranks with the foremost, that as a history of a people, of a nation, not of some selected period of great events, it outranks by the vividness of impression that it leaves upon the mind all histories that it has been our good fortune to read.

Some errata in the pages we note. On page 4 Hannibal ought to cross the Alps in 218 not 278 B. C.; on page 216 Peter the Cruel ought to be Pedro; on page 478 Vasco da Gama ought to sail around the Cape of Good Hope; on page 688 we think Quesnay is meant where Quesnel is written, for though there was a Quesnel at the time in question, who said naughty things of the Pope, the father of French political economy is Quesnay. We would further remark that the statement on page 203 that "the nobles died with useless heroism (at Crecy, 1346) for French nobles have never lacked courage," needs revision, for four centuries and a half later, after the effeminacy of the court of Louis XIV. had had its effect, after they had fled France and the Revolution, the French nobles, refugee regiments in the German army marshalled to fight their battles, their cause, showed themselves decidedly lacking in courage.

## BOOK REVIEWS.

### Puerto Rico.

*Puerto Rico and its Resources.* By FREDERICK A. OBER, with maps and illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.

With the acquisition of our new territories comes also the demand for a book descriptive of country, climate and people of each, that shall meet all the requirements of our own people seeking information. The demand for such a book, complete and exhaustive in every detail, is almost unlimited, and he who can successfully fill this want will win both fame and fortune. The field is open, new, and without favor. The present volume makes no pretence to such position. It is a well considered discussion of Puerto Rico and its people, and, in fact, makes a most valuable hand book for the would-be investor and traveller. This is the very object Mr. Ober had in view, and until the coming of a real and complete treatise on the "ever loyal and faithful isle," his work can and will be accepted as a thorough, calm and truthful sketch. The long acquaintance of the author with his subject demands our attention and compels respect. The book may show evidence of hasty compilation, many things we would like to know remain untouched, some things we care little about receive perhaps undue and unnecessary prominence, but all who read will bear witness to the absolute fairness of the discussion and the utter lack of prejudice. Mr. Ober is a man of strong views, and, without doubt, has come to some very radical conclusions, but with it all he has shown himself strong enough to present the simple facts and there rest the case. Thus by permitting the reader to judge for himself, he wins his confidence even though on matters of national policy they may be at daggers' points.

It will be well, it is necessary in fact, for us as a people to know something of our new brothers. We must be careful in our dealings with them and must not expect to find a people capable of at once taking their place as equals in the body politic. There will be plenty of ground for disagreement, plenty of cause for impatience, much to cause loss of respect on the one side and admiration on the other. Before the American people is another race problem perhaps more difficult of solution than our ever present negro question. The situation calls for capable and wise management, a management that must ever be patient, tolerant and forgiving; a management whose greatest object will be to

guide, instruct and uplift. By force of arms we have broken down the rotten and corrupt government of monarchical Spain and it behooves us to replace it with a government that shall be satisfactory to all. Coming gladly under our flag, welcoming the advent of our soldiers, Puerto Ricans have a right to expect and demand a system of absolute justice. The Washington government has in its hands the cards that shall bring them under our flag rejoicing, or it can drive them in as a subjugated race. Doubtless we will be dubbed "calamity howlers," but to those who have studied the situation in all its phases our warning will not seem unwarranted. In our dealings with these people let us make haste slowly for as the Italian proverb has it, "He who goes slowly goes far."

As a tropical country Puerto Rico stands unsurpassed. Man has there successfully employed nature, and of all the Antilles Puerto Rico is the most prosperous, healthful and adaptable. We find here the tropical jungle almost cleared away, the entire land under or capable of immediate cultivation, beautiful rivers, good bays and harbors, magnificent mountains and superb scenery—in fact everything to make its people happy, contented and prosperous. Were it not for the devastating hurricanes, the tropical fevers and pests the country would be an ideal fairy garden spot. As it is, the fevers do not rage with such terrible effects as in other and neighboring islands, and with proper hygienic care should be so reduced as to make the country moderately healthful. Among such childlike and easy-going people things move but slowly at best, and it is just this that will breed discontent and discouragement among our people when they come to recognize, as they must, the marked inferiority of the race. It is a conglomerate people—Spaniard, negro and half-breed. All are lazy to an extreme, careless and without thought of the future. The great majority are hopelessly uneducated, seemingly altogether satisfied with a hand to mouth existence and incapable of real exertion. There are exceptions to every rule, but as a class the Puerto Rican makes no effort to save anything, cares not to change his manner of life and only asks for peace and the retention of his national pastimes. Of the higher class this of course does not hold good. There will be found the charm of manner, the education and culture and the haughty pride of the genuine blue blooded Spaniard of old Castile.

On this little island, considerably smaller than the state of Connecticut, are upwards of 800,000 people. From this it can easily be seen that there can be but little unoccupied land, and he who expects to squat as in the days of the old West will have a rude awakening. The man without capital or "pull" need not apply, and the speculator and investor will discover very soon that the country is not altogether a bonanza. It is, however, a wonderfully productive country, one that should progress rapidly under our government, but the outsider will find the field generally occupied. The market for our manufactures and products among the natives will not prove so profitable as we might like and as many believe. The acquisition of the island must increase trade to a considerable extent, but it is a dream of the expansionist to look for an unlimited market. He looks for much where there is but little, and so is likely to be disappointed.

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### The Downward Drift of High Society.

*Life's Comedy.* Third Series. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Before us is a picture book for grown up people which is not likely to remain unnoticed upon any table where it may chance to lie. We have looked it through from cover to cover, with the pleasure its artistic merit demands, and again to apply text to illustration, with a resultant dissatisfaction that even in such attractive dress human nature should appear so unlovely. It must be but ordinary sequence that caricature should follow the dictate of the age which orders that gold shall be the standard of value by which life's success and its every condition should be weighed and measured, and so cry its wares in the money market, with the result that "Life's Comedy" becomes somewhat tragic.

The ridiculous is apparent, but it is more difficult to recognize the humor, which so easily slips away from the vulgarity of the theme so predominantly harped upon. There is, however, the usual margin for exceptions, and page 29, in the middle of the book, is a sample quite free of protest, and where the eloquence of a pair of hands is comically irresistible. Satire, from Aristophanes and Horace down through the centuries, has been a powerful weapon wielded by doughty hands for the undoing of

vice and to repress high-handed wrong, and the honor of its victory has been due to the purpose that dared to ridicule, rather than to barter for the laugh and smile of indulgence. The union of caricature with its literary brother, satire, is a feature of the age. Scarce a modern centre is without its so-called comic paper, whose influence no one will contest. *Punch* in its early days was incomparable, and to the happy possessor of its ancient numbers what more delightful literary frolic than to follow Mr. Briggs' adventures in the hunting field and the crises of his house-keeping. Mr. Leech, too, could draw a pretty woman and her amusing frailties, but she was a dear creature, quite innocent of those sordid plottings which figure to the debasement of our modern life. Speaking of the "pretty woman," we have in mind her of the "Comedy" (and Mr. Gibson is not the only artist who therein depicts her with clever grace and skill), but in her company is only a coxcomb; scarcely save in the cover piece is even her prettiness mated. Is it that our satirist preserves yet in his quiver some blunter arrows, and in his fainting chivalry reserves them in memory of a worn-out creed, and so retains us the shell from which the kernel has decayed?

There are troubled waters underneath the froth of these "Comedies," whence shall come the bread to be scattered upon them if not from the hands of those honest men and honest women who are bold in the truth, who dare to say that there are ways of righteousness and who believe that the sacrifice of such for the greed of money and money's place will not secure an entrance through the Gates Ajar. But floods have overwhelmed multitudes, and it behooves these to throw aside the lethargy and trance of acquiescence and to lose no foothold on the yielding sand, but to stand firmly with protest of voice and hand against an ever advancing tide that is wrecking the peace of home and the hope of Heaven. If we close this attractive book feeling cheerless rather than cheered, it is because it has again illuminated a sad society, a society that proclaims brazenly to its world, our daughter is for sale, she shall be knocked down to the highest bidder only, and in this market our son of himself may do nothing if he come not with that first accorded ability, the ability to purchase; if you have wealth, it is well, the right is in the possession; if you have not, assume the virtue, and with all the misplaced heroism of the better struggle, stand until you must fall, properly out of sight of the successful who are your betters by nature of their success.

Who will stay the frantic race for the precedence that makes life alluringly conspicuous, to reap applause and the ease of selfish pleasure? They harken to the trumpets of brass and the tinkling cymbals, and in the churches to the Book teaching that money is the source of all evil; they pray "Good Lord deliver us" and go forth knowing that in church and out of church they will acknowledge no other love, no other God than that. Cassandra still pleads in her pathetic warnings that this worship brings but disappointment and destruction, but ears are deaf, eyes are blinded by the glare from the golden calf, and we gather Dead Sea apples that shall turn to dust and ashes in the mouths of our children.

#### Old Point Comfort, Richmond and Washington—Six-day Tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The third of the present series of personally-conducted tours to Old Point Comfort, Richmond and Washington via the Pennsylvania Railroad will leave New York and Philadelphia on Saturday, March 18.

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For itineraries and full information apply to ticket agents: Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, New York; 789 Broad street, Newark, N. J., or George W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

#### BRIEFER NOTICES.

*The Rejuvenation of Miss Semaphore.* By HAL GODFREY. Boston: L. C. Page & Co. \$1.25.

The farcical cover of fools' faces and masks is a perfect index for the tale itself. Of all the strange and weird this is the worst. It would be difficult for the imagination of any sane man to run a more wild race than that of Mr. Godfrey. He would make a delightful companion for a growing household of children and would certainly win the love and admiration of the little people. However, when he spins his yarn for supposedly mature minds and bodies it is a little too much, for if we start this ridiculous story we are more than likely to read to the bitter end, and then the blush of shame will come to our faces to find what children we are after all. At the same time we are quite sure our author is shaking with suppressed mirth as he sees the public buying this production and we can hear the echo "what fools these mortals be." The story itself pictures the struggles of two rather elderly maidens in an endeavor to find the elixir of perpetual youth. The waters of youth are discovered, an overdose

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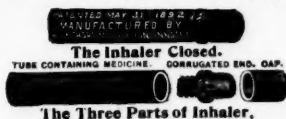
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is taken and the victim is suddenly thrown from a highly respectable age to the infantile one of some eight days. From this anyone can easily draw a picture full of excitement, humor and mistakes. Mr. Godfrey is undeniably clever, his fund of wit is seemingly without end, his details good and pointed. The book points a moral that the reader will surely see unless he be indeed obtuse. It is not with regret we lay aside this absurdity, rather with a relief that we trust will remain unbroken by future effort.

\*\*\*

*A Klondike Picnic. The Story of a Day.* By ELEANOR C. DONNELLY. New York: Benziger Brothers.

In the City of Brotherly Love, and particularly among the large numbers of her fellow church members, Miss Donnelly needs no introduction. Among the many educated and cultured people of our city—and Philadelphia recognizes no superior in this line—she may, if she would, stand well up in the ranks. Her friends—and they are legion—understand her, respect her, yes, love her, knowing as they do her purity of mind and purpose. They know her to be one of those who, laying down for themselves certain precepts, will work on, never ceasing till the Angel of Peace call halt, in an endeavor to uplift and assist humanity. Knowing all this and more, they needs must respect her, and respect, if we be but true to ourselves, is followed by love as surely as the day the night. Our object is, however, to bring before the great public the fact that our author is the sister of the Hon. Ignatius Donnelly, of whose work for reform we need say nothing, realizing with what satisfaction and pleasure they will learn of another member of the house of Donnelly striving in her own way to guide the mind and heart of the American citizen.

Of the book before us Miss Donnelly writes us: "It is a simple, childish story, but I have the hope that it will convey some information about the El Dorado of our day to young minds in a pleasant shape." This short sentence conveys far better than we can the aim and object of the present book. Miss Donnelly evidently remembers the old yet true saying, "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world."

\*\*\*

*There Go the Ships, and After Many Days.* By REV. H. VALLETTE WARREN. Buffalo: Charles Wells Moulton. \$1.

Here is a peculiar book, all of the sea—one-third verse, one-third a sailor's thoughts in prose and one-third Biblical quotations, arranged together in groups of three. The author is evidently a retired naval chaplain, who seeks in this queer form to continue his life's work. We can read between the lines his own experiences in life and of life; we can heartily commend his earnestness in doing what he feels it his duty to do, but of the book itself there is little to be said.

\*\*\*

*Our New Possessions.* Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Philippines. New York: American Book Co. 10c.

This is a convenient little pamphlet of 32 pages giving a description of each of the four island groups named, together with general information regarding the industries, resources and population of each, and a brief historical sketch. There are four outline maps.

### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

ST. MARY'S HALL LECTURES, and other papers. By Henry Budd. Pp 287. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co. \$1.50.

THE RAPIN. By Henry de Vere Stackpoole. Pp 303. New York: Henry Holt & Co. \$1.25.

THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION. By Edward J. Lowell. Pp 408. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

VALUE AND DISTRIBUTION. An Historical, Critical, and Constructive Study in Economic Theory. By Charles William Macfarlane, pp 317. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. \$2.50.

THE GODHOOD OF MAN. By Nicolai Mikalowitch. Pp 150. Chicago: The author. 25c.

BABY. By Frances Sheldon Bolton. Pp 144. New Haven, Ct.: Mothers Journal Company. 50 cents.

THE WEST INDIES. By Amos Kidder Fiske. Pp 414, illustrated. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

THE AMATEUR CRACKSMAN. By E. W. Hornung. Pp 290. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

IN CUBA WITH SHAFER. By John D. Miley. Pp 228, with portraits and maps. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

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"It is particularly pleasant to an author to find his work well spoken of by a reviewer who gives undoubted evidence of having read it, which is not always the case with those who write book notices."—HENRY VAN DYKE, New York City.

"I have to thank you for your review of my 'History of Italian Literature' which appeared in THE AMERICAN. I cannot but feel highly gratified to see my book treated with so much attention, and have no comment to make except that I hope the notice may be as just as favorable."—R. GARNETT, British Museum, London.

"I thank you for your notice of my book, ('Evolutional Ethics and Animal Psychology') which is a very appreciative one, and shows that the critic had read it with care and had a clear understanding of its purpose."—E. P. EVANS, Munich; Germany.

"I thank you very much for your courtesy in sending me your review of my 'History of the United States Navy.' Your reviewer has a masterful grasp of the subject which few others have shown. He has been perfectly just to the work."—EDGAR S. MACLAY, Setauket, Long Island, N. Y.

"The clipping from THE AMERICAN of a review of the 'Game Birds of North America' is received, and I desire to thank you for so extended a notice of my little book and the very handsome way in which you have spoken of it. It is gratifying to a naturalist to see in a notice of his work that the reviewer understands the subject, which unfortunately is often not the case."—DR. D. G. ELLIOT, Field Columbian Museum, Chicago, Ill.

"We are in receipt of your letter enclosing your review of Professor Peck's book, entitled 'The Personal Equation.' \* \* \* We certainly wish to express to you our appreciation of the attention which you have given this book, for the review contained in your columns strikes us as being an exceedingly clever one."—HARPER & BROTHERS, Publishers, New York.

"Permit me to thank you for your courtesy in sending me a copy of your review of my 'Impressions of South Africa.' Your reviewer has completely understood what I desired to convey, and I am much indebted to him for the evident pains he has taken to embody in his notice the points which I chiefly desired to emphasize, as well as for the skill which he has shown in presenting them to American readers."—RT. HON. JAMES BRYCE, House of Commons, London.

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your favor enclosing a notice clipped from the columns of THE AMERICAN of my recently published 'Bird-Life.' It is not often that I receive so appreciative a review, or one which grasps so fully the intent of my necessarily brief treatment of the economic value of birds. Permit me, therefore, not only to express my pleasure at the character of your review, but to thank you for the review itself."—FRANK M. CHAPMAN, American Museum of Natural History, New York City.

"I have to thank you for the clipping from your paper. I can certainly find no fault with its justness and I am obliged greatly to you for so kind a criticism. Your reviewer has taken the volume ('Cornell Stories') much as I would wish and as I intended."—JAMES GARDNER SANDERSON, Scranton, Pa.

"Copy of your paper at hand containing notice of Mr. Fisher's book ('Pennsylvania Colony and Commonwealth') for which we thank you. Your notice is intelligent and discriminating, and one of the best we have thus far seen."—HENRY T. COATES & Co., Publishers, Philadelphia.

"I beg to thank you for your review of my 'History of the American Episcopal Church.' It is most intelligently done."—REV. S. D. MCCONNELL, Brooklyn, N. Y.

"Allow me to thank you for your kindness in sending the notice of my latest book, 'Familiar Life in Field and Forest.' I appreciate the fairness of the criticism and I thank you for the kind way in which the volume is received. I like to hear something else than mere praise, because it gives one a chance to know just where one can improve. The acceptance of a book or a picture in the right spirit, that is, the acceptance by the critic of the 'ground' of artist or writer, is of the greatest value and encouragement to the one criticised. And I value what you say accordingly."—F. SCHUYLER MATHEWS, El Fureidis, Blair, N. H.

"Please accept my hearty thanks for your letter enclosing clipping from THE AMERICAN, with a very sympathetic review of my book, 'Farthest North.' It interests me very much to see what an interest you have taken in my work in America. With kind regards."—FRIDTJOF NANSEN, Godthaab Lysaker.

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"Allow me to thank you for the very handsome review of my book, 'The State,' which appeared in your issue of yesterday. . . I was very glad to adopt the suggestions of your earlier notice of the book, so far as possible, for I at once recognized their value and pertinence."—PROF. WOODROW WILSON, Princeton, N. J.

"I beg to thank you for your courtesy in sending me the clipping from THE AMERICAN containing the review of my book entitled 'The Personal Equation.' I have read this notice with much pleasure and profit, and consider it one of the most thorough and appreciative reviews which the book has received."—PROF. HARRY THURSTON PECK, Columbia University, New York City.

"We appreciate the admirable reviews that our books have been receiving in THE AMERICAN."—THE CENTURY COMPANY, Publishers, New York.

"Your very elaborate and interesting review of my book, 'Hours With the Ghosts,' bears the impress of considerable psychic knowledge. It is very gratifying to have one's book reviewed by a writer familiar with the points at issue, and not by a neophyte unable to appreciate the difficulties in the path of the investigator into spirit (?) phenomena. It is replete with critical acumen, as are all of the reviews in your paper."—H. R. EVANS, Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.

"On my return from the West I find your kind letter, enclosing copy of a very interesting and comprehensive review of my book, 'Military Europe,' for which I beg that you will accept my cordial thanks."—GEN. NELSON A. MILES, Headquarters of the Army, Washington, D. C.

"I am obliged to you for the consideration you have given to my book, 'Rise and Growth of American Politics.' Your criticism, as a whole, is so thoughtful and suggestive, that I have read it with great interest."—HENRY J. FORD, Pittsburgh, Pa.

"I thank you very heartily for your notice of my 'History of the United States.' It is very refreshing to find a book notice written by one who understands what he is writing about. I seldom find a notice of this history which shows a sharper knowledge of the subject than is shown in this review of the book. . . . Thanking you for your appreciative words, for the errors which you have helped me to correct, and the kind spirit of your review, I am."—WILLIAM A. MOWRY, Hyde Park, Mass.

"Many thanks for so kindly sending me THE AMERICAN's review of my 'French Revolution and English Literature.' It is very gratifying to me that the reviewer should have thought favorably of the book. His qualifications of what I said on Burns seem to me sound and just. I remember a published letter on Burns by Walt Whitman in which he, too, did something, in a kindly spirit, to reduce the exaggerated estimates of the value of much that Burns wrote. Still to have inspired his countrymen with such unbounded enthusiasm is an evidence of the electrical power of the poet's genius."—EDWARD DOWDEN, Dublin, Ireland.  
Professor of Eng. Literature, University, of Dublin.

"There is, of course, only one thing for me to say about your notice of the Audubon book ('Audubon and his Journals') and that is, that it is most gratifying to me in every way, and one of the best and most comprehensive that I have received, and I am especially grateful for the remark that I kept myself in the background."—M. R. AUDUBON, Salem, N. Y.

"I am much pleased with your review of my little book 'In Old Narragansett.' It shows me—what all reviews do not reveal—that you had read it. And if you were 'truthful' as you were certainly not 'aggressive' I can deeply thank you. I have done some reviewing and I know how to comprehend a well rounded review when I see it."—ALICE MORSE EARLE, Brooklyn, N. Y.

"The review of my edition of 'Nuttall's Ornithology' is eminently satisfactory to me, because it emphasizes just the idea I had in mind in preparing the book—that of making it a book of value to those who are interested in the study of bird life, as well as those who are merely interested in birds as a pleasant adjunct to a summer day's ramble."—M. CHAMBERLAIN, Secretary Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

"No notice of my book ('Free to Serve') that I have yet seen has given me quite the same feeling of pleasure as that in THE AMERICAN, and this not so much because of the appreciative character of the review, as because of the nice discrimination it displays. I heartily thank you for it."—EMMA RAYNER, Boston, Mass.

"Your review of 'Magic' is one of the best and most critical which I have received of this work. I have had over fifty so far. The book reviews in THE AMERICAN are exceptionally good and I hope will result in giving you a large circulation, because they are so independent and critical that the reader can rely upon them."—ALBERT S. HOPKINS, New York City.